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WAR & PEACE

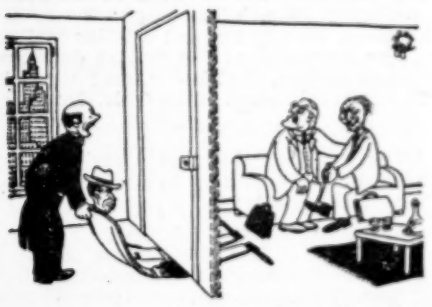
On the eve of Geneva: Adenauer's 'security' plan vs. genuine disarmament

By Tabitha Petran

ON THE EVE of the Geneva talks, President Eisenhower declared himself more "hopeful" than two months ago. Moscow's **Pravda** published and welcomed his views. But they were less welcome in Washington where neither Secy. Dulles nor "the best informed men in the capital" shared the President's "congenital rosiness," according to James Reston (**NYT**, 7/3).

Secy. Dulles was, in fact, busy attempting to dampen the hopes for East-West settlement at Geneva which are rising throughout the Western world. This was the aim of his speech at San Francisco (which appalled U.S. allies and neutral nations alike) and of his June 28 press conference where he carefully closed all doors to settlement. Dulles' activities underlined the N.Y. **Times'** supposition that

> "... the good feeling exuded ... may be tactical. Big leaders are shying be tactical. Big Three leaders are shying away from a stiff approach for fear they might be blamed for intransigence if Geneva fails."



Effel in Humanite, Paris

"Mr. Pinay to see Mr. Dulles!" "Okay, slide him under the door."

THE STRONG MAN: As the West's strategy for Geneva emerges from press briefings, conferences, and speeches by its statesmen, the dominating role of W. German Chancellor Adenauer becomes clearer. In Paris, Geneva is being referred to as a "Big Five Conference." W. European press and politicians speak increasingly of the "American-German directorship" established during Adenauer's visit to Washington. Adenauer is regarded rather widely as having returned to Bonn "with the Americans in his pocket."

Adenauer's line (repeated in an exclusive interview with W. R. Hearst Jr., N.Y. **Daily Mirror**, 7/3) is that the "present Soviet diplomatic offensive is directed solely against the U.S." and is designed to isolate it; that Geneva cannot lead to "any lasting relaxation of tension," since the West must not allow the socialist world "time to grow strong in return for nothing but 'sweet words.'" Adenauer's aim is to prevent any Soviet-American agreement, any relaxation of tension, since either would undercut his—and W. Germany's—present power position.

DULLES' PRICE: The "European security arrangement," about which Washington has recently been launching trial balloons, is a cherished Adenauer project. It envisages an exchange of non-aggression guarantees between the Western military bloc, including a rearmed Germany, and the Eastern bloc. Dulles explains that it would involve extension to Eastern Europe of the "arms limitation plan ... now in force among the members of the Western European Union" (**NYT**, 6/29). Dulles "put Moscow on notice" that a German settlement is "an indispensable part of any all-European security arrangement" (**NYT**). He insists on Soviet surrender to American terms on German unification as a price for even this type of guarantee.

This Adenauer-Dulles proposal has the advantage—from the Washington-Bonn point of view—of appearing, possibly, to advance toward the East-West settlement demanded by peoples of the Western world, while, in fact, it stands adamant on inclusion of a

(Continued on Page 3)

From the ends of the world, peace drew them together

Among the 2,000 delegates from 90 countries at the World Peace Assembly in Helsinki were Gunnar Aspelin, Finnish painter (l.) and two delegates from Madagascar. With the other delegates last week they adopted a "Helsinki Peace Appeal" calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons and test explosions, for a neutral Germany and an all-European security, economic and cultural system. The Assembly was all but blacked out in the American press.

BIG STEEL MAKES A QUICK STEAL

Steel workers win 15c-an-hour boost; GAW drive in '56

By Lawrence Emery

A 12-HOUR STRIKE by 600,000 steel workers which shut down major producing plants from coast to coast beginning midnight July 1 won a 15c-an-hour across-the-board wage increase, biggest direct boost gained in any major industry this year. But U.S. Steel, largest of the industry's Big Six, which made the settlement, immediately announced a price increase of $7.50 a ton.

The price boost startled industry experts who had forecast a rise ranging from $4.50 to a maximum of $6 a ton. It was clear that the steel industry did not intend to curtail its profits by its wage increase. But a U.S. Steel spokesman said that the price boost was not based solely on the wage boost but on several other economic factors, including higher costs of production and taxes. The five other major producers in the industry immediately matched the U.S. Steel settlement, and the pattern was expected to be followed by smaller firms and fabricating plants.

OUTPUT UP, JOBS DOWN: In pre-strike public announcements, CIO steelworkers union president David J. Mcdonald stressed the record-making profits of the industry, which he estimated at $2,000,000 a day. Steel has been booming, with production at capacity or more. Dividends this year are up 33⅓% over last year. But with production up, total employment is off; with 5,000,000 more tons of steel produced in the first three months of this year as compared with the same period last year, there are 40,000 fewer steel workers employed than two years ago. Profits per hour worked this year amount to $1.09 before taxes, or 54c net.

The new pay increase give all workers a direct boost of 11½c an hour, with an added ½c increase in the wage spread between each of 32 wage classifications. The lowest rating—sweepers—is now up from $1.57 an hour to $1.68½. The average steel wage, with overtime and shift differentials, is $2.44 an hour, which is exceeded only by

(Continued on Page 4)

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Belfrage and the tyrant

IF EVER there was a demonstration of petty tyranny in public office it was given last week in statements by Gen. Joseph M. Swing, U.S. Commissioner for Immigration and Naturalization, on the case of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Gen. Swing said that Belfrage was put in prison because his "political beliefs are allied to a world-wide conspiracy to destroy the free world and make him, in our opinion, a threat to the national security."

This is a ludicrous statement on its face; but its implications are dangerous. Gen. Swing has no authority to usurp the power of prosecutor, judge and jury. On his own, without proof, he has decreed that Cedric Belfrage is a danger to the state and therefore must be held in a federal prison. The voice and the action are McCarthy; but McCarthy is deflated, and it's about time American public opinion deflated his imitators.

Gen. Swing said that at the time of the original arrest the Immigration Dept. intended to hold Belfrage "only a day until we could get him on a boat." He said Belfrage's imprisonment was his own fault: he sought a writ of habeas corpus and threw the case into the courts. What a fine show of contempt and arrogance for human dignity! All Belfrage had to do was to get on a boat in 24 hours and all this unpleasantness would have been unnecessary. The fact that his roots are here in the land he chose; that his family is here and his precious work—all this is meaningless to the General's general. But what is even worse, Gen. Swing in effect contends that if a man is fool enough to go to the courts, he deserves nothing better than jail.

THE COURTS, after a long hiatus, are becoming increasingly conscious of the usurping attitude on the part of the executive branch of the government. Courageous voices are being raised on the bench. In the last weeks there have been a succession of decisions which have upheld the best American heritage and have helped clear the air a bit.

But these decisions have had no visible effect on our diligent Attorney General. He responded by bringing Harry Bridges to trial for the fifth time; by asking a compliant, slattern Congress to double the penalties under the Smith Act, increase the prison term for "sedition" to 20 years; by holding Belfrage in prison in violation of every basic concept of Anglo-Saxon law.

AND WHAT OF BELFRAGE as of this writing? He sits in West Street Prison for the eighth week, accused of no crime, indicted for nothing, convicted of nothing. Last week he sent a letter to the N.Y. **Times**, commenting on their editorial, and

(Continued on Page 2)

AT HALLINANS

1,500 expected at Calif. picnic

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN is sponsoring a bay area picnic at the Ross estate of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Hallinan on Sunday, July 31, it was announced by Mrs. Malvina Reynolds, the GUARDIAN's North California representative. The picnic is scheduled from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., with admission for adults $1 and 50c for children.

The Hallinan estate in Ross, at previous picnics, has accommodated 1,500 people and Mrs. Reynolds estimates that the attendance at this picnic may be even larger. This will be the last such affair at the Hallinan home as the property has been sold.

Just A Gentle Reminder

To renew for 1 year mail address - plate with $3. Do it today.

If your address - plate reads July, '55, or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

- **Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose remittance, mail to:**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

For Cedric Belfrage

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I am one of the sustaining subscribers of the GUARDIAN. I usually send in $1 per month. However when I heard of Cedric Belfrage being put in prison, I decided to triple my contribution this month.

I am a school teacher and don't have a lot of money, but I have enough sense to realize that everyone who is interested in liberty and regard for individual freedom owes him a debt of gratitude.

The evil forces of fascism are running loose. McCarthy has been silenced but there are others to take his place. It seems that anyone with true leadership ability and liberal ideas is apt to become the victim of a witch-hunt.

I think Belfrage is one of the great men of our time.

John L. Jensen

Reaction in France

PARIS, FRANCE

It is with interest that we have taken note of your protest concerning your editor, Cedric Belfrage. We thank you for having sent us documentation on this subject. We are going to see what we can do on his behalf.

Andre Guerin
Editor in Chief, L'Aurore

"A great guy"

SPOKANE, WASH.

The GUARDIAN has become a necessity with us. Its arrival is always the event of the week.

Belfrage must be a great guy to have put our government to so much desperate effort to deport him. Success to him.

Thomas F. Lynch

Friends in Italy

ROME, ITALY

We have just received the letter in which you ask us for a contribution to keep the GUARDIAN in life. It is with deep sympathy and appreciation for your wonderful work that we adhere to your request.

We pledge to send you the sum of one dollar a month for the rest of the year.

Hoping that you will find great comprehension in everyone we remain your sincere friends.

Staff of "Vie Nuove," Illustrated Weekly

Correction on Cuba

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In his speech before the 10th anniversary session of the UN, the deelgate from Cuba, Sr. Nunez Portuondo, committed a series of errors and lies. In the first place, it is not evident that Puerto Rico is a "free and associated state" as Portuondo claims. Puerto Rico continues to be a colony exploited by Yankee imperialism. Obvious proof is the fact that Puerto Rico has no representation in the UN.

The second lie is that Portuondo represents a free and sovereign nation. Cuba is simply a satellite of the U.S., whose economy is exclusively dependent on the U.S. The dictator Batista's administration is a spurious regime, the product of subversion, maintained by the fiercest police terror in Cuba's history. At the moment there are more than 500 political prisoners in Cuban jails and more than 1,000 Cubans expatriated because they do not wish to submit to Batista's terror.

It is curious that Portuondo should have launched a furious attack against Russian communism when at present the Soviet Union is economically aiding Cuba by buying sugar (500,000 tons) which the U.S. cannot buy under the reduced quota unilaterally imposed by the U.S.

I say it is curious because undoubtedly Portuondo is receiving his entire salary in Russian money paid for Cuban sugar. Portuondo is eating, drinking and amusing himself with "Moscow gold."

Obviously Portuondo does not represent the real Cuba but only a dictator of the same stripe as Trujillo of San Domingo, Somoza of Nicaragua, Perez Jimenez of Venezuela, Odria of Peru and the other hangers-on of Yankee imperialism in Central America, the Antilles and South America.

Pablo Gonzalez

Who's rushing?

WINFIELD, KANS.

I noticed on the letters page one guy alluded to a remark by some of the Hell-Bomb experts, that "we have not yet reached the danger point in the release of radioactivity." What the H---. Who is reaching for such a point? Like the wag said of Heaven: "It's a fine place, but few are hurrying to get there."

Elmer Stratton

"International waters"

MANISTEE, MICH.

The plane incident in what we term "international waters" and which the Soviets claim as theirs, made me aware of the incongruity of our position in view of a few facts of which you may be unaware.

From the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington 3, D.C., anyone can obtain for 40c an "Aeronautical Planning Chart." This chart clearly shows an area marked the Atlantic-ADIZ (Air Defense Identification Zone). Any pilot in this area is in real trouble unless flight plans have been filed and permission granted. Jets would be after any plane pronto; and if it were not shot down would be forced to land and explain.

It will interest you to learn that this area is not 3 miles, 7 miles or 12 miles out. The map clearly shows that it runs 400 miles out from our east coast! What hypocrites we are. Pity any poor Russian plane trying to take pictures of our fortifications in the "international waters" close to us! What is sauce for the goose, etc. But how many Americans know this? Did you?

The Pacific Coast has its ADIZ too, as has the Gulf of Mexico.

A Friend

How crazy can you get dept.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) —One of the biggest differences between Tito communism and Khrushchev's brand is reflected in state-produced panties for ladies.

In Russia, the first country in modern times to nationalize them . . . they are coming in only two colors — blue and purple.

But here panties are on sale in many styles and in colors as varied as the rainbow. . . .

Girdles and garter belts are as hard to find in Red Russia as millionaire bankers, but here there're as common as plums.

When it comes to bras, however, Russia comes out ahead.

Eddy Gilmore in Minot (N.D.) Daily News, June 7, 1955.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Lucille Olson, Bergen, N.D.

Statistics Dept.

OGDENSBURG, N.Y.

At 10th anniversary United Nations proceedings John Foster Dulles spoke for the U.S. and V. M. Molotov for the Soviet Union. Both talked about peace. Dulles used the word "peace" 18 times in his speech; Molotov used it 37 times. Does that make Molotov twice as peaceful as John Foster?

Al Kuchler

Clubs in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

We are organizing Guardian Clubs here. We have a club started in North Minneapolis and are getting together in South Minneapolis this week. Our main objectives will be to build the GUARDIAN circulation and help raise funds for the Belfrage Case. We don't intend to let Cedric down here. Best wishes to a grand, fighting paper.

Ralph Taylor

Crossing Bridges

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Harry, Harry, quite contrary.
How does your Union grow?
With silver bells and cockle shells
And five little trials in a row.
(What's the distance record for this sort of thing?)

Bill

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"So this is the Parthenon which all those fashion models are always being photographed against!"

Earth homes

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Let those tenants who are harassed by landlords and other civilized abominations get together, buy some land and build their own earth homes for one-tenth of what the average home costs. They also can produce their own electricity, raise their own vegetables on their roofs.

Cherio

Hold your nose!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I am sending you a page from the Jewish Criterion of Pittsburgh about the stoolie Joseph Mazzei. He was arrested on June 17 for not supporting his child born out of wedlock. This stoolie testified in June, 1953, before the McCarthy Committee that in the Jewish Cultural Center in Pittsburgh bombs were made. This gentleman was arrested in the office of attorney Harry Allen Sherman. This attorney was responsible for padlocking the center. He appeared against Morris Seder, held for deportation. Seder was recording secretary of Local 86, A.C.W. in Pittsburgh. Seder got sick and died Sept. 4, 1954.

J. M.

Warren on La Follette

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

This is a copy of a letter I sent to Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court:

"WARREN LAUDS LA FOLLETTE SR." Under this headline in San Diego Tribune of June 20, we read that you spoke in Madison, Wis., at the centennial celebration of the birth of the founder of the Progressive movement. Your praise is the praise of many who admired the fine qualities of Bob La Follette. Indeed, courageous men and women of vision with his type of "dissenting spirit" are sorely needed today in America. "And he suffered the same treatment that courageous men of vision in all ages have suffered. He was called a radical, a disrupter, a Socialist, a subverter. . . ."

Shades of the Smith Act, Taft-Hartley, Walter-McCarran. It behooves us then, Justice Warren, to remedy matters. Let us enjoy good riddance of these un-American laws which have imprisoned so many men and women who dared to "turn the searchlight upon our social problems and to grind out with mortar and pestle the answers to them."

You may be assured of our hearty support to help free these courageous prisoners.

Helen Ross

The dispossessed

BRANDON, MANITOBA

You are doing a valiant work in defending and preserving the anesthetized conscience of the American people. I much regret that you appear to have few roots in the earthy stratum of the class struggle. It is fine and noble to appeal to the high principles and intellectual acceptance of the intelligentsia, but it would be more effective to canvas and obtain the unqualified support of the dispossessed and the most abject victims of war and free enterprise.

Unfortunately spontaneous movements of the working people are too frequently exploited by the prophets of the status quo—even if they use progressive verbiage. It may be difficult to convert a devoted group of talented people (such as your group) to the grass roots of the struggle of the people —but it must take place and the sooner the better. ($20 enclosed).

Dr. D. L. Johnson

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE, Editor — JOHN T. McMANUS, General Manager — JAMES ARONSON, Executive Editor

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Vol. 7, No. 38 — 178 — JULY 11, 1955

Belfrage and the tyrant

(Continued from Page 1)

pointing out the real conditions under which deportation detainees were being held. The letter was signed by all seven detainees in West St. (Since that time two of the seven have gone and at least seven more have arrived, Belfrage said.)

The letter never reached the **Times**. It was held up by the prison authorities. Belfrage included the contents of the **Times** letter in a letter to his attorney, Blanch Freedman; it was deleted by the prison authorities. Finally he sent a letter to Rep. Celler, who has protested the detention of deportation detainees in prison. As far as Belfrage knows, that letter went through. In a free society such moves would seem intolerable. But they happen.

THE N.Y. **Times** last week revealed that the American Civil Liberties Union last month had protested to Gen. Swing the jailing of deportation detainees. It said:

"There is no excuse for treating as criminals people who have not yet been sentenced, in a court of law, for a crime, and subjecting them to the indignities of prison life." The letter called the jailing of "agitators" (the Immigration Dept. term for Belfrage) "even more shocking." It went on:

"The incarceration of people in prison for political conviction is the mark of a totalitarian state and has no place in the U.S., where the right of political expression is one of our cherished possessions."

Gen. Swing replied that the ACLU position "played directly into the hands of enemies of our nation." He said:

"I am sure you will agree 'established American tradition of fair treatment and respect for the individual' does not include allowing criminals or subversives who have absconded (on bond) or who are likely to do so, to remain at liberty."

Belfrage has fought for two years, at liberty on bond, to stay in the U.S. In a less grim time, Gen. Swing would be hooted out of office for such a statement.

THEN HOW ABOUT MAKING the time less grim? How about joining the N.Y. **Times** and the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** in demanding a fair deal for Belfrage and the "criminal" detainees (whose only crime is being in the U.S. illegally, from all that can be gleaned)? Nobody is going to do the job if we don't bring the matter to the fullest possible public attention. These are the things you can do:

- Write to Atty. Gen. Brownell insisting that he administer the law in the Belfrage Case in the American way and grant Belfrage his freedom.
- Write to your community newspaper with the facts on the Belfrage Case and ask the editor to comment.
- Write to your congressman asking for an investigation of the Justice Dept.'s handling of deportation detainees.

One last point that must be made again and again and again. The attack on Belfrage is an attack on the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. An attack on the GUARDIAN is an attack on the whole concept of freedom of the press. If anyone doubts that the attack can and will be broadened, just let him take a good hard look at Sen. Eastland's job of trying to McCarthyize the N.Y. **Times** in Washington last week. If Brownell gets away with it in the Belfrage Case, Eastland will do the same in the **Times** case. And the sky's the limit.

Let's stop the nonsense once and for all right here and now and get on with the job of restoring sanity in America.

No. 5 is missing: how long can Washington continue to exclude China?

By Kumar Goshal

ON JUNE 22, in San Francisco, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, after presenting his country's "basic proposals" on disarmament, banning of nuclear weapons and removal of the threat of war, said:

> "The Chinese People's Republic, obviously, should be a party to any discussion of these matters."

But what was "obvious" to Molotov seemed incomprehensible to Secy. Dulles, as Washington continued trying to ignore China as a major power. It was predicted that Dulles would reject any suggestion to invite China to Geneva or to agree to a meeting with China following the Big Four conference. Although it seemed certain that "Vietnam as well as Formosa will come up" at Geneva (N.Y. **Times**, 6/27), Washington was reported opposed even to "the idea of taking up the problems of Asia at the Big Four meeting" (**Newsweek**, 6/20).

U. S. IN ASIA: The lack of desire by Washington and its allies to discuss Asia at Geneva may be attributed to the following western moves:

- Military intervention in Korea and Vietnam and interference in the Chinese civil war.
- Promotion of the SEATO military alliance as "an outfit under Western direction . . . which leans upon Asian countries where power is in the hands of a few hundred individuals supported by police power" (Paris **Le Monde**, 2/27).
- Guaranteeing such tottering feudal regimes as "the rotten and lovely lotus-land of Thailand against social change" (London **New Statesman**, 2/26).
- Promoting "Asian spokesmen" such as the Philippines' Carlos Romulo, who at Bandoeng admitted to "playing by ear" in support of U.S. policy and speaking in San Francisco last week only "to steal the thunder from Molotov."

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Many happy returns, dear, and let's hope you'll soon grow into a real boy."

CHINA IS KEY: Recognition of China as the major Asian power and consultations with it are obviously needed to relax tensions in Asia. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai was largely responsible for the success of the Vietnam truce negotiations in Geneva a year ago and the unanimous resolutions at Bandoeng. Britain and France have conceded the necessity for negotiating with Peking; even the pro-U.S. Canadian External Affairs Secy. Lester Pearson has said (**NYT**, 4/14):

> ". . . certainly the absence from negotiations and discussions . . . of the de facto power on the Chinese mainland makes impossible . . . the effective settlement of disputed matters around that country's periphery: Korea, Formosa and Indo-China."

THE ASIAN VIEW: Asians, aware that their problems and the world's are inseparable, insist on a voice in international talks; India has consistently supported Moscow's and Peking's demand to include China. Two years ago India at the UN called for the kind of conference now scheduled for Geneva this month.

The N.Y. **Post** reported (6/17) that India's Premier Nehru in his Moscow visit assured the Soviet leaders of the British Commonwealth's support for any serious offer for a European settlement the U.S.S.R. might make at Geneva. The joint Nehru-Bulganin statement called for restoration of Peking's "legitimate rights" on Formosa and in the UN and endorsed the Chou-Nehru principles of peaceful coexistence as applicable to the world in general.

WHERE'S No. 5? Ten years ago, at the birth of the UN, the allies realized that world peace rested upon the co-operation of five—not four—powers: Britain, France, U.S., U.S.S.R.—and China. They wrote into the UN Charter the provision that major Security Council decisions

> ". . . shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent [Big Five] members. . . ."

People's China has demonstrated that it is much more of a major power than Chiang's China ever was. The Nehru-Bulganin statement reiterated what the Indian delegation has often told the UN:

> "The continued refusal to admit the Chinese People's Republic to the UN lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere."

If the Geneva conference leads to a solution of this issue, it will enormously strengthen the UN as an instrument for world peace.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

rearmed W. Germany (if not all Germany) in NATO, and bypasses the crucial questions involved in such a settlement: disarmament and the outlawing of nuclear war; and dismantling the some thousand U.S. military bases encircling the socialist world.

THE DANGERS: Instead of a "disarmament" measure, Dulles' "arms control plan" is, in fact, a plan for the intensification of the arms race. The Paris Agreements set up the WEU Agency "to control the level of stocks of armaments" and to see "that the undertakings given by WEU members not to manufacture certain types of arms are being observed." The Agency will report violatons to the WEU Council, which shall then "take the measures it considers necessary with a procedure it shall determine," any decisions being by majority vote. In other words, the Agency is without real powers.

WEU is committed to the buildup of 40 W. European divisions including W. German sea, land and air forces. As an integral part of NATO, it is committed to waging nuclear war; the Paris Agreements also specifically provide for preparation for waging chemical and bacteriological war. W. Germany is permitted to engage in civilian atomic energy research and—unlike an earlier provision in EDC—to manufacture nuclear fuel. All questions of "arms control" are decided by the Council by majority vote—W. Germany and the Benelux countries could thus outweigh a combined Anglo-French stand. The American NATO commander has the last word on armaments, having the power to sanction increases above the levels set in the Paris Agreements. The WEU "army controls," the N.Y. **Times** pointed out (10/26/54), "are more of an irritant than an insurance" and "cannot prevent the emergence of West Germany as the first military power in Western Europe."

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

"Shall I trim it in the new style, Mr. Dulles?"

OTHER PLANS: The Dulles plan for "arms control" on the WEU pattern is simply designed to deceive public opinion. The French have proposed a "European Security system" with a somewhat different emphasis. Their idea is to guarantee the status quo in Europe, including the partition of Germany and the U.S.S.R.'s security interests in Eastern Europe. The French are also interested in putting some restraints on W. German rearmament. In San Francisco, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov did not rule out further discussion of the French plan although he emphasized its basic differences with the U.S.S.R.'s proposed "all-European security system." The Soviet plan looks to the liquidation of rival military blocs, the construction of an "open alliance" to which all countries can belong. It is linked to concrete proposals for withdrawal of occupation troops from Germany and for disarmament, and the elimination of U.S. military bases on the frontiers of the socialist world.

The West has yet to reply to the Soviet concessions on disarmament made almost two months ago. Washington's talk about "security pacts" is designed chiefly to becloud this key issue. For it clearly has no intention of moving toward real disarmament despite the fact that the backfiring of the arms race it launched is written with increasing plainness these days in the skies over Moscow.

How to live well—and long

Commenting on the announcement that the "new look" French army will eliminate useless drilling and will "offer young recruits an opportunity to prepare themselves for their professional careers" after service, Le Monde *(Paris) suggests:*

WHY not carry through such a happy development to its conclusion? Since the army seems to want to preoccupy itself seriously with the future of the young recruits, the least it can do is assure them that future. Let me explain: beneath the sparkle of uniforms and the thunder of bugle-calls, it has always been an explicit aim of military training to prepare young folk to die well.

Well, now they want to prepare them to live well. The first thing to do, then, is to take out of their hands all those instruments of murder of which they might make, if not a bad use, at least a dangerous use from the standpoint of their personal security.

Once arms have been done away with, they could also do away with the uniforms—which are, after all, nothing more than a little gilt on the pill of death. It would be ridiculous to call a man in civvies "adjutant." So he can be called "professor." And advantage can be taken of this to have him pass a few exams to justify the name. After which all that remains is to erase the word "barracks" at the entrance and write instead: "Professional school."

The idea seems seductive and worthy of broad application. One would like to know what they think of it at the White House and the Kremlin.

THE PLAIN FACTS: Recent developments in Soviet air power have "stunned American observers," according to Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers. The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**'s military analyst, Brig Gen. Thomas R. Phillips (Ret.), has summed up the relative position of the Soviet and U.S. Air Forces (**The Reporter**, 6/30) and finds the U.S.S.R. ahead on most counts:

> ". . . the Russians . . . started two years later than we to make a jet intercontinental bomber and now have it in formations while we don't; . . . they have built more jet aircraft of a single type—the MIG 15—than we have of all jet aircraft combined and have built more light two-engined bombers than all the free world put togther."

The Russians are behind us, he said, only in medium bombers.

Carrefour Paris

"So at last you are taking an interest in politics."

The day is not far off when Americans will have to face the fact that the arms race launched by their government has weakened, not strengthened, the U.S. position in the world; that the U.S. cannot achieve a decisive edge over the U.S.S.R. in this race; and that the issue of real disarmament can—from the point of view of the U.S.'s own national interests—no longer be postponed.

Western Leaders Must Enter Big 4 Meeting With Open Minds And Attitude Of Skepticism

By David Lawrence — hint that another Yalta-type con- ... ence for his speech and ...

Lexington (Ky.) Leader

. . . AND TWO HEADS

2 McCARTHY VICTIMS VINDICATED

Brownell tosses in sponge on Lattimore; John Service's 'risk' tag removed

BACK IN 1950, when Sen. Joe McCarthy had what seemed the loudest voice in the land, he called Owen Lattimore the "top Soviet agent in the U.S." When the former Tydings Committee cleared Lattimore of all charges made by McCarthy, the Senator called it a "whitewash." His friend, the late Sen. Pat McCarran, thereupon called Lattimore before his Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, grilled him for days.

On the basis of the record of that investigation, the Justice Dept. got a seven-count perjury indictment against Lattimore. For the past two and a half years, the government has tried to put him in jail. Last week it gave up; Atty. Gen. Brownell announced his department will move to have all charges against Lattimore dismissed.

HAPPY SURPRISE: Currently on a lecture tour in Europe, the Johns Hopkins University professor said in Stockholm that he was "very surprised and happy."

Lattimore was first indicted on Dec. 16, 1952, after the McCarran Committee called him a "conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." He was accused of lying when swearing under oath that he was not a promoter of or sympathizer with Communist causes.

On May 2, 1953, Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl dismissed four counts on the ground they were "nebulous and indefinite" and violated constitutional safeguards. The government appealed

OWEN LATTIMORE
He was "surprised" but "happy"

his decision, got two counts reinstated —but not the two it considered vital to its case.

MORE QUASHING: On Oct. 7, 1954, the government got a new indictment on its two "key" counts. The case again went before Judge Youngdahl; when U.S. Atty. Leo Rover filed an affidavit of prejudice against him and called upon him to withdraw from the case, the judge denounced the action as "scandalous" and an attempt to intimidate the Federal judiciary. He quashed the two new counts.

The government once more appealed, but on June 14 this year Judge Youngdahl's ruling was upheld. On June 28, Brownell announced that he was finally dropping the case.

The defense team for Lattimore included Thurman Arnold, Paul Porter, Abe Fortas, and Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.).

On June 30, in a quiet courtroom, the indictment was officially quashed; Lattimore's five-year ordeal was done. But there was no apology from the government that had persecuted him, no way to make restitution for what he had lost.

THE SERVICE CASE: On the same day another early victim of McCarthy, career diplomat John Stewart Service, had his record expunged of a charge of "reasonable doubt" of his loyalty. But he didn't get his job back, though he had 18 years of top-level State Dept. service behind him when he was dismissed by Dean Acheson, former Secy. of State, on Dec. 13, 1951.

Service had been cleared of loyalty charges six times. But in 1950 Sen. McCarthy called him a "known associate and collaborator with Communists" and accused him of "consorting with admitted espionage agents." A Loyalty Review Board thereafter found his loyalty questionable, and he was dismissed. It is the Review Board's finding that has now been declared a "nullity" and stricken from the record. The action followed the recent Supreme Court decision which cleared the name of Dr. John Punnett Peters by overturning a similar Review Board ruling.

Steel settlement

(Continued from Page 1)

wages in coal mining and oil refining.

The steel settlement, measured in terms of spending money in the pay envelope, is nearly double that won by McDonald's arch rival Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Although Reuther boasted that he won a 20c-an-hour package, most of it, as with the lay-off pay plan, was in fringe benefits. The steel union will bargain for its own Guaranteed Annual Wage plan next year; McDonald has already announced he won't settle for what Reuther took.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"This firm doesn't offer a pension plan, or a guaranteed annual wage, but we do have a good company psychiatrist who will cure any feeling of insecurity."

COPPER STRIKE: Three of the nation's four biggest copper producers were shut down by a strike called by the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union on July 1. The companies had refused the union's demand for a 20c hourly wage boost, plus fringe benefits and what the union called a modified version of a guaranteed annual wage. The struck companies were American Smelting & Refining Co., Phelps-Dodge Corp., and Kennecott Copper Corp. Workers of the Anaconda Co. stayed on the job. A union spokesman said he looked for an early settlement.

The union, which made no statement as to why Anaconda was not struck, said wage offers from the companies ranged from 2c an hour to 12c. It said the non-ferrous industry is now in "one of the greatest booms in its history" and that "heavy demand for [copper and] all other non-ferrous metals assures strong markets at high prices for the indefinite future." It described profits as being up more than 50% over last year and said:

> "As compared with the unusual prosperity being enjoyed by the companies, a majority of non-ferrous metal workers have yet to regain their level of real earnings of two years ago."

Although the union did not spell out what it called a modified guaranteed annual wage, one demand called for "'lost time pay' to protect the worker who is forced off the job by accident, illness or layoff so that his income continues at no less than $60 a week."

VINDICTIVENESS, INC.

New Smith Act cases coming up in N.Y. and in Puerto Rico

"The erosion of our own freedom begins when we deprive of its guarantees those whom we most hate and despise."

THIS STATEMENT in a N.Y. Times editorial of May 25 was cited by William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, in announcing the new undertaking by the CRC of the legal defense in all cases involving the rights of Communists.

Currently these cases include the pending Supreme Court tests of the McCarran Act of 1950, under which the CP and other organizations have been ordered to register as subversive; the Supreme Court test of state sedition laws under which Steve Nelson and others have been convicted; and Circuit Court appeals from Smith Act convictions of Junius Scales in Georgia and the second group of Communist leaders in New York, one of the cases in which government witness Harvey Matusow recanted his testimony.

PUERTO RICO CASE: The CRC is also preparing the defense of the Puerto Rico Smith Act cases, where the government is insisting on a trial in English before an English-speaking jury. The U.S. has declared to the UN that Puerto Rico is an independent commonwealth, but is applying the Smith Act notwithstanding.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
YESTERDAY'S BOGEYMAN

Scheduled for August with the CRC preparing the defense is the re-trial of George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg. Their convictions with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and others in the second Foley Square trials were reversed after Matusow recanted his testimony against them.

Included in the new trial will be Sidney Steinberg, already serving a jail term on a charge of "harboring" the fugitive Smith Act victim, Robert Thompson; and Marion Bachrach, severed from the second Foley Square trial when she was found to have cancer.

THE BACHRACH CASE: Immediately upon severance of her case in July, 1952, Miss Bachrach underwent a major operation. A second was required in Dec., 1953; since then Miss Bachrach has said in an affidavit filed last month she requires "a low residue diet, long hours of bed-rest and avoidance of physical exertion and mental tensions." She has been unable to seek employment or to leave home except on alternate days.

Her surgeon and physician, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, testified that despite the operations there is "a suspicious indication of residual tumor tissue"—meaning that the cancer may still remain. Nevertheless a court physician in May reported her condition "entirely satisfactory" with "no evidence of residual disability at this time."

SAME BUNDLE: Setting forth the CRC's needs in the foregoing cases, Patterson invited the support of those who understand that their own rights are, in the phrase of Supreme Court Justice Jackson, "tied in the same constitutional bundle as those of the Communists." (From the late Justice's decision granting bail to the first Foley Square Smith Act victims.) Contributions may be sent to Civil Rights Congress, Room 200, 6 East 17th St. New York 3, N.Y.

•

Maurice Braverman, attorney recently released after serving a term with other Baltimore Smith Act victims, has been disbarred by the Supreme Bench of Baltimore.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP

Uphaus case puzzles New Hampshire court

SINCE LAST FALL Dr. Willard Uphaus and World Fellowship, Inc., of which he is exec. secy., have been harassed by a New Hampshire witch-hunt designed to purge the state of summer peace seminars.

World Fellowship, which centers its winter activities in New Haven, Conn.; conducts summer seminars with guest speakers of many nationalities near Conway, N.H.

Last Sept. Dr. Uphaus appeared twice before N.H. Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman, answered all questions about his beliefs and associations but, citing the First Amendment, refused to give the names of those who attended the 1954 seminars. Uphaus was served at his Connecticut home with an order to appear in a New Hampshire court. His attorney objected on the ground that New Hampshire process is invalid in Connecticut, suggested serving Uphaus properly later in New Hampshire. Fined $500 for failure to appear, Uphaus appealed to the N.H. Supreme Court.

SEMINARS ON: On June 28, before a scheduled hearing on the merits of the case could start, Justice Robert Griffith of the Merrimac County Superior Court at Concord, N.H., refused to hear the case unless Uphaus withdrew his appeal to the Supreme Court. When Uphaus' attorneys declined, Justice Griffith postponed the hearing until the higher court decides the jurisdictional issue next October.

Letters and telegrams from ministers and Fellowship supporters have protested the action against Uphaus to New Hampshire's Governor, Atty. Gen. and to Justice Griffith. More than 40 supporters from New England and New York were in court on June 28. Since the Atty. Gen. can take no further action until after October, World Fellowship is continuing with its summer seminars.

VICTORY FOR AUTHOR

Order barring Reuben from Canada upset

VANCOUVER, B. C.
Special to the Guardian

JUSTICE W. O. WILSON of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, last week set aside a deportation order barring William A. Reuben, author of **The Atom Spy Hoax**, from entering Canada. Reuben, in a three-minute proceeding, was denied entry last April 10 when he arrived in Vancouver for a public lecture sponsored by the Vancouver Sobell Committee. The court action meant that he was now free to reapply for entry.

The Canadian Attorney General said the government would appeal. In New York Reuben said he would take immediate steps to enter Canada. His exclusion had been widely protested in Canada, a protest joined in by the League for the Rights of Man.

THE 21-YEAR PERSECUTION

Same old stools fumigated at 5th trial of Harry Bridges; defense will call 29

ON THE SAME DAY that the United Nations opened its tenth anniversary celebration in San Francisco, the U. S. government began in the same city its fifth attempt in 21 years to deport Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

The present proceeding is a civil suit to strip Bridges of his citizenship on the charge that he lied in denying Communist Party membership or affiliation when he was naturalized in 1945. He was cleared of the same charge of CP membership in that year by the U. S. Supreme Court. A 1949 conviction on the same set of charges was again reversed by the Supreme Court in 1953.

"ORDINARILY OUTRAGEOUS": The case is being heard before U. S. District Judge Louis E. Goodman without a jury. Bridges' defense team consists of Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor (rt.), U. S. prosecutor at the war crimes trial at Nuremberg, Richard Gladstein and Norman Leonard. In his opening statement, Taylor said:

> "It would ordinarily be considered outrageous that a charge would be pursued 21 years after the alleged actions and utterances."

Of the seven witnesses called by the government in the first week, all but one were ex-Communists who claimed they saw Bridges at what they described as Communist meetings, or in the company of known Communists, in the 1930's.

The prosecution called Bridges himself to the stand the first day as an adverse witness. To the question, "Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?" he answered, "No."

SAME OLD STUFF: The trial recessed on June 27 until July 11. The government still had two more witnesses listed, but it was doubtful if one would be called because he had been discredited in his last appearance against Bridges. The union summed up the first week's proceedings:

HARRY BRIDGES
It was during UN week

> "The government's case may be over. It has woven its case of the same old cloth with the same type of witnesses as in the other four cases in which it has been defeated. Out of literally thousands and thousands of meetings in which Bridges has had to participate as a responsible trade union leader, it has pin-pointed a handful to try to show that some meetings were attended by Communists, either known or suspected or rumored to be, and sought by association to pin the label on him."

The defense has listed 29 witnesses it plans to call.

During the UN celebration week, a union delegation called upon representatives of the 60 member countries and urged that the Bridges case be brought before the UN's Human Rights Commission.

FDR's "hard bargain"

Jimmy Byrnes, home from the Yalta conference . . . was enthusiastic about [it]. Especially was he pleased at the "hard bargain" Franklin D. Roosevelt had driven with Stalin as to conditions governing the elections to be held in Poland. . . . He fairly gloated with the dessert: "Why, if you let me hold an election in S. Carolina under the conditions we imposed in Poland, I ought to be ashamed of myself if I couldn't win."

—Louisville Courier-Journal's Robert L. Riggs, "The 'Scoops' Served at Private Washington Dinners," New Republic, April 11.

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CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TWO BIG EARL ROBINSON CONCERTS at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., L. A. Friday, July 29, 8:30 p.m. Sunday, July 31, 2 p.m. Includes special version of "Sandhog" with Chorus. Night concert, $1. Sunday, 50c and $1. Tickets now selling at Church office or by mail. Benefit, First Unitarian Church.

Chicago

GIANT RALLY—The Bill of Rights vs. Guilt by Association. Hear Claude Lightfoot and Junis Scales, victims of he membership provision of the Smith Act. Sunday, July 31, 2:30 p.m., Washington Park (near 52nd & So. Parkway). Sponsored by Washington Park Forum, South Side Civil Rights Congress and Lightfoot Defense Committee.

35 YEARS OF SOVIET FILM IN AMERICA. Banquet honoring Irving P. Franklin, who imported thet first Soviet film, "Polikushka," in 1920. MIDLAND HOTEL, 172 W. Adams, 7 p.m., Sat., July 23. For reservations send $5 per plate to CHICAGO COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, 189 W. Madson, Chicago, Ill.

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Open letter to Guardian readers

The time has arrived to call a halt to the Roman holiday enjoyed by the forces of reaction since the untimely demise of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The time is most auspicious for starting a people's offensive in the interest of peace, sanity, and civil liberties. It calls for the development of new techniques for establishing contact with the American people.

It is my considered opinion that one of the most potent methods of arousing the indignation of the American people is to prove to them that they have been played for suckers! This is strictly Americanese; language that is readily understood even on the lowest levels of intelligence. As a corrollary to such a campaign, discussions of vital political and social issues will become relatively easier.

Fortunately the job has been made simple for us by the publication recently of the monumental book of William A. Reuben, "The Atom Spy Hoax." This book, by overwhelming documentation, completely demolishes the basic premises of the cold war and the witch-hunt. It is a book which is destined to do for the present generation what "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did for the Civil War period. Very aptly did a London reviewer say that for writing this book historians will place William A. Reuben in a class with Lincoln Steffens, John Reed, and Mark Twain. It is a courageous challenge to the dark forces, the evil men who plot the destruction of everything decent in our country. This book is the Open Sesame to reaching the American people, to breaking through the smog of hysteria, prejudice, and intolerance. It is the key to winning freedom for Morton Sobell and to vindicating the Rosenbergs.

Naturally, the kept press, the kept radio, the kept TV, and the kept literati are boycotting this book, giving it the silent treatment. In fact, no publishing house would handle it. So, a penniless author, after 3½ years of painstaking research and writing, had to become his own publisher. After distributing the first edition of 4,000 copies by heroic methods, he found it financially impossible to bring out a second edition, and began to wonder whether it would not be nobler to seek a job driving a taxi than to beat his head against the stone walls of inertia, smugness, complacency, and general lack of organizational support from progressives who ought to know better.

Thanks to the quick work of a handful of Los Angeles people with a little foresight, a second edition of 5,000 copies of the book is now coming off the presses. This committee within a few days raised enough money by loans to pay Bill Reuben for a thousand copies in advance, and this emergency measure inspired him and made it possible to have a second edition. The committee sends speakers to organizations to review the book and gets quantity orders which enable the organizations to sell the book at club rates and to enlist the membership in a drive to promote sales. It now appears as if the entire 1,000 books will sold in about seven weeks.

I urge you to act at once. Get a committee started in your area. If you can't do it yourself, will you please get someone eles to get the ball rolling! If you need further information, please feel free to write to me. When you are ready, send a check to Action Books, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y. The list price is $3.75. You can get large discounts for quantity orders.

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PROGRESS ON DESEGREGATION

Maryland and Kentucky speed the ending of jimcrow schools

By Eugene Gordon

THE MARYLAND and Kentucky boards of education last week moved a step nearer to desegregation as ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court. Acting on State Atty. Gen. Sybert's ruling that the Supreme Court's decision nullified all local jimcrow school laws, the state board ordered immediate integration of Maryland's five state colleges for teachers. Counties were urged not to wait for law suits but to desegregate "with all deliberate haste."

Kentucky's board, rejecting a suggestion by its lone Negro member that integration be effected this September, directed public schools to desegregate as "rapidly as conditions warrant." Asst. Atty. Gen. Keller has ruled the 51-year-old jimcrow school law no longer enforceable.

ALABAMA'S NEW LAW: After Alabama's Senate had listened to a resolution demanding impeachment of U.S. Supreme Court justices for "unconstitutional usurpation of legislative authority," it passed a law enabling local school boards to so assign pupils as to prevent "commingling of the races."

The Greensboro, N.C., Supt. of Schools told delegates to a school law conference at Duke University: "Everybody will ultimately have to comply with the Supreme Court's decision." No. Carolina Gov. Hodges, on the other hand, assured the 47th annual Farm and Home Week Conference that "the great majority of our citizens, both races included, prefer to keep our schools separate." El Reno and Tulsa, Okla., and El Paso, Tex., announced plans to integrate their schools in September.

Philadelphia Inquirer

"Wake up! It's school time."

"SUBLIMELY NATURAL": Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman of New Orleans Temple Sinai told 400 delegates to the 66th annual session of the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Asbury Park, N.J.:

"Small children are sublimely natural and democratic. They would as innocently fit into [an integrated] pattern as they would into normal play with any and all other children—unless they are conditioned by parents who have already been fear-inspired by scare-mongering politicians."

Rabbi Edward E. Klein of New York's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue urged the conference to fight "until all colored people are admitted into industry, all labor unions, all neighborhoods and all public accommodations." The rabbis unanimously adopted a resolution approving the Supreme Court anti-jimcrow school decision.

Howard University for the second year has opened an "integration course" in its summer school, attracting 40 white teachers from eight Southern states and the Dist. of Columbia.

GWINN LAW

241 families ignore N.Y. oath

DISPOSSESS notices have gone out to 241 families in 18 housing projects throughout New York City, City Housing Authority Chairman Philip J. Cruise announced last week. The reason: they failed to sign loyalty oaths indicating they were not members of organizations listed by the Attorney General as "subversive."

Similar attempts at "loyalty" evictions were prevented by courts in California, Wisconsin and Illinois. The Gwinn amendment to a 1952 housing appropriations act—on which the evictions are based—is being tested in the N.Y. courts. The City Housing Authority disregarded the dubious legal status of the Gwinn amendment in mailing out loyalty oath forms early in May to the 30,192 families in federally-aided housing projects. The oaths were to be returned by June 24.

The 241 hold-outs were given 30 days before evictions can take place. After 30 days the CHA will go into Municipal Court and seek to evict the 241. The N.Y. Civil Liberties Union and a number of tenants' organizations have served notice that they will fight such evictions.

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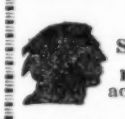
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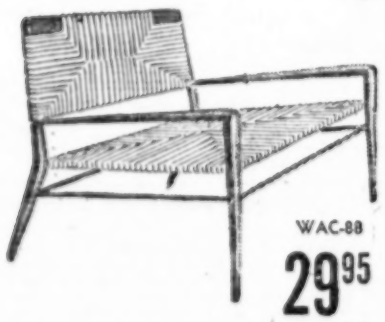
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NEW YORK CALENDAR

July 10, 8:30 p.m. **ASP STARLIGHT FORUM,** Penthouse 10A, 59 W. 71st St. Speaker: composer-producer Jay Gorney, whose subject, "Where Are the Girls," will present change of status of women in the theatre. Cont. $1.25. Refreshments.

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av., July 11: **"A HUNDRED MEN AND A GIRL."** Gay and heart-warming tale in which Deanna Durbin persuades Leopold Stokowski to take over the directorship of an orchestra of unemployed musicians. Showings: Sat. only from 9:00 p.m. Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT."**

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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

In reading our daily papers we hear that many of our representatives in Washington, D. C., are introducing bills and creating committees and commissions to study the serious problems confronting our over-aged citizens.

I have noticed that many of the bills advocate reducing the retirement age for women to the age of 60. These representatives deserve much credit for having some human feeling and consideration for elderly women who still have to struggle for a livelihood at such a late age.

Today many married women and over-aged mothers are compelled to go to work to supplement their husbands' inadequate wages and pensions so they can give their children the necessities of life and the proper education.

Isn't it high time that all over-aged women be given more attention and consideration for their wonderful services and sacrifices they have given for their community and country; that they should be eligible for retirement at an earlier age so they can enjoy the fruits of their labor? Also to compensate them with an adequate pension for the hardships they had to endure so they can enjoy the basic things of life that their last remaining days can be happy ones.

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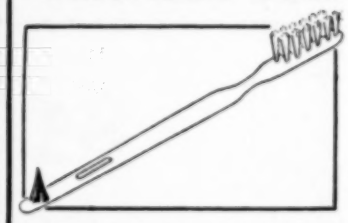

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BOOKS

A double world

By Aaron Kramer

"Poet and scientist, the two-faced man
Must eye the double world like Argos."

FOLLOWING THIS COMMANDMENT,* Thomas McGrath in his new volume takes a good long look at the double world in which we find ourselves: a world of hawks and roses.

It is the hawk-ridden world he sees most clearly, and landscapes most vividly: the world of our everyday streets. The first section, fittingly titled "Monsters of the Happy Land," introduces quite a catalogue of characters: a clairvoyant's client, who has wished his life away in false dreams; a middle-class couple, whose existence has become meaningless and hopeless, surrounded by bloodthirsty offspring and happy, comfortable pets; a fellow transformed into a robot ("reassembled in the subway") who, for a moment, along with his neighbors, recognizes that they've all been utterly de-humanized by the money-making routine; a bewildered housewife, afraid to think, yet conscious of a terrible doom on its way, who maintains an outward calm while "the earth continually opened at her feet"; a guilt-haunted parasite, who—comforted by a daylight "green as money"—forgets the "alarm of Cadillacs" when darkness comes, and is kept tremblingly awake by "the hungry faces of the ragged men"; a failure, turning desperately to drink night after night, unable to forget the shipwrecks of his lovely dreams, yet unable to escape from the "midnight barstools . . . those tight islands of pain . . ."; and, finally, a scientist, trying all day long to win exemption from reality, who turns his back on "the sweat of progress and humanity," and dedicates his productive hours to cultivate a tree of death:

TOM McGRATH

"In a rustle of banknotes and casualty lists
The Bomb is shaken from the wrath-bearing tree."

THE WAR POEMS: The second section comprises a short group of war poems—far less effective than the portrait-gallery of monsters which precedes it. Yet "In a Season of War" has some memorable moments, notably the nostalgic opening verses, "The Roads into the Country"—where the poet, having outgrown "the air-gun in the land of all mock-choice," wishes to cry out a warning to a new generation of children at play, who "have no ears for those they will become." We also return, with pain and admiration, to that exquisite elegy, "The World of the Perfect Tear," fashioned for a particular brother, but fitting for all the slain brothers of the world.

THE LYRICS: The volume closes with a large group of miscellaneous lyrics, varied in theme, form, and mood. In this section, McGrath frequently gropes toward a definition of his own role as poet and man, arriving finally at an exultant announcement of his aim:

"Spelling resistance and the living will,
To bring to dance a stony field of fact
And set against terror, exile, or despair
The rituals of our humanity."

The rose achieves a singular triumph—at the very time when winter would seem to be in command. First, McGrath prays for an end to the monstrosities of our Happy Land:

"To build on earth, not in the far heaven,
The human city of our daily bread."

Then, firmly, the poet reminds himself and his readers that the world for which we yearn will not be born by wishing or begging:

"The only gods ourselves, and every good
Ripped from our sides in agony and blood."

The publisher states that McGrath "has learned well . . . from the distinguished poets of the twentieth century who preceded him." The question arises as to whether some of those lessons should perhaps be unlearned. One might even suggest that there are other lessons necessary for a poet of such intent —and many distinguished poets of many centuries from whom he can learn.

As he continues to ripen, McGrath will surely consolidate his position as one of this generation's most penetrating, courageous and brilliant voices. The Swallow Poetry Book Award jury is to be commended for unanimously choosing this work, and for making it available to the large audience it deserves.

FIGURES FROM A DOUBLE WORLD, by Thomas McGrath, published by Alan Swallow, Denver, 83 pages; price $2.75.

Common sense about H-bombs

The very nature of the H-bomb equalizes the means of destruction of the two camps. To burn a haystack, one match and 100 liters of gasoline have exactly the same efficacity as 100 matches and 10,000 liters. In the same way we know today that, to destroy mankind completely, it is only necessary to explode a limited and calculable number of H-bombs. When the bombs stockpiled across the world reach this number (it is possible that this has already happened) all further production will become militarily useless.

—"Colonel X" in Tribune des Nations, Mar. 4.